1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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entirely in caves; trading places called *wadia* near the caves, but out of sight of them, under a tree or rock, were used for bartering, where all strangers would stop and shout and then wait until their calls had been answered from the caves. 342 437

The Veddas were extremely jealous of their women, and intimate as our informant was with them as a young man, he was never taken to their caves while their women were there. 662

The wilder Veddas could not count, at least they used no numerals beyond one, the method being to say "one" "and one" "and one," etc., probably putting a piece of stick on the ground or making a mark for each unit mentioned. Both hands with fingers extended were held up for ten, or perhaps for any number above six. 802

The "silent trade" was only a tradition even among the wildest Veddas and had probably been extinct in this part of the country for at least two generations. 437

The wilder Veddas had no areca nuts but chewed the bark of trees mixed with lime which they obtained by burning land shells which they called *wantako*. 276

Cousin marriage took place, the unions being arranged by the parents of the young people. 582

Honey, dried venison and flesh of the monitor lizard were brought by the young man to the girl's father[1], who would call his daughter and give her in charge of her husband, for whom she would immediately make a waist string (*dia lanuwa*). 584 583

She made no pretence of running away from her husband. Widows married an unmarried brother of their first husband if this were possible, in any case they might remarry and their sexual morality was as high as that of unmarried girls. 587 831

The wilder Veddas of the district belonged to the Morane and Unapane *waruge*; each clan had its own set of caves, though, since their members intermarried, there could have been no rigid exclusiveness about the arrangement. 614 554

There were people of Uru *waruge* at a little distance; their status was lower than that of the Morane and Unapane folk, neither of whom would marry into this clan, and it was even said that the men of [582]

[1] It was not clear whether more than one formal present of food was made; it must be remembered that a youth always gives part of any important kill to his potential father-in-law, cf. p. 67.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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members of single families or small groups of two families living and hunting together.

Each family consists of parents and unmarried children to whom are generally added married daughters and their husbands. It is rare to find a married son with his father and mother, and a widow often marries the brother of her dead husband. We may now give some examples of the communities we actually met, premising that where a community such as that of Godatalawa consists of a single family only, this is probably due to depopulation and "hard times."

By consulting the genealogies on pp. 60 and 61 it will be seen that the Godatalawa family consisted of an old white haired man, Handuna, the "senior" of the group, his wife Dilisini, their daughter Kumi, a girl scarcely past puberty, and another daughter, Mutumenike, whom we did not see. Besides these there were Kaira (Hudubandar) and Kaira (Vinake), both sons of the old man's sister Hudi, and therefore actual or potential sons-in-law, and the two young children of the dead Ukumenike, a daughter of Handuna by his first wife Dingerimenike.

The Sitala Wanniya community when we first met them consisted of two families, those of Handuna the "senior" of the group, and his half brother Vela. Handuna had with him his wife Tandi and his two boys, his married daughter Kandi, and her husband Kaira with his sister Selli and the two young children born to Kaira and Kandi. Vela had only his wife Bevini (sister of Tandi) and his two young children. After a few days they were joined by another family consisting of Nila and his wife Wiri, with their daughter and her husband Paema, an unmarried girl and a small boy. The relationship between Handuna and Nila was that their grandmothers were sisters and their mother and father cousins who reciprocally called each other *akka* (elder sister) and *maleya* (younger brother).

KINSHIP.

The system of kinship was studied by means of the genealogies, and the following list of relationship terms compiled from the genealogies shows that the Vedda system of

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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rigidly observed that we were told that a man might not assist his sister to rise from the ground if she had fallen down and injured herself. Further, it seemed that he should not see much even of the girl whom he was about to marry until she was handed over to him, though according to our Unuwatura Bubula informants it was not really bad for a man to touch any of his *naena* and he was allowed to do this in an emergency. At Sitala Wanniya it was said that adult *kura* and *naena* should not speak to each other even when it had been arranged that they should marry, and at Omuni we were told that if in the old days a man was seen speaking to an unmarried girl, her outraged relatives would seek to kill him. Children may of course come in contact with their parents to any extent and at any age.

Second marriages are, and always have been frequent, a man often marrying a sister of his deceased wife and a woman marrying one of her dead husband's brothers. We believe that such unions were regarded as both a privilege and a duty, though according to Handuna of Sitala Wanniya a man married his dead wife's sister principally because if he married any one else his children would not be looked after so well. If a widow does not marry one of her dead husband's brothers she may return to her parents, though it seemed that if these were no longer living she would generally stay with her late husband's group, whose duty it would then be to look after her and her children.

With regard to name avoidance, a man does not speak the name of his mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and they also refrain from speaking his name, relationship terms being used instead. Nor does a man commonly speak of his son-in-law or father-in-law, or his brother's wife or sister's husband, except by the appropriate relationship terms; beyond this we would only point out that, as already mentioned, neither man nor woman commonly speaks of his or her spouse by name, and there is a general tendency to avoid the use of names and where possible indicate an individual by a relationship term. In no case did we notice any hesitation in giving the name of any adult which we sought to obtain in the course of our inquiries. The objection to saying a young child's name and the reason for this is referred to on p. 103.

5: Spittal D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

these Veddas. Bingoda is not all Vedda; essentially it is a Sinhalese chena village of about six or eight families, within a stone's throw of which are the crude huts belonging to the few surviving Veddas. Through a tangle of overgrown scrub we reach them; they are not so numerous that we cannot easily name every single Vedda there.

Three we have met before, Suthubanda, Gama and Badapissa; it was they who led us such a chase at Galmede. In the first hut we find the swarthy Gama and his comely young wife Kalu—his fifth experiment in matrimony: and he barely twenty-five! Not far from this is Suthubanda's abode, in which are his wife, the skinny Thuthi, mother by previous marriage of Gamma; their two little boys, Handuna and Naida and girls Kumi and Punji. Handuna is the quaintest brat imaginable; he is ash-coloured from top to toe, through crouching by the hearth all night to keep warm his naked body; for, all he has for cover is a little strip of loin cloth drooping erratically from a slack waist-string that sags well below his nates; his rotund abdomen accommodates an enormous spleen; with hands crossed over shrugged shoulders to keep the chill away, he gazes quizzically at you.

Away from these two homes, across the stream, is the only other Vedda hut. Unlike those of Suthubanda and Gama which are of wattle and dust, this is a sadly dilapidated mud structure once occupied by a Moor. It is the most pathetic and curious menage here, and belongs to Kaira brother of Suthubanda. His wife Randunna, a hideous squint-eyed thing, is mother by a previous husband to Heenthuthi the twelve-year old wife of Badapissa (Muthua), Kaira's younger brother! A more ridiculous pair it would be hard to find: the wife a mere child, the husband barely more. The Veddas favour such early marriages, saying that, growing up thus together, the two learn to love each other well. Be that as it may, it does seem a most piteous travesty of human matings. Huddled by the hearth and shivering with ague, is old Thanthi mother of the clan, and wife of the dead chief Neela. And, lastly, we have here the most pathetic figure in all Bingoda—Kummi, a girl of fifteen, dust-besmeared, ulcerated, crippled, and so scantily clad that she is ashamed to stand lest she reveal her nakedness. A misery to herself and others, she sits apart with face shyly lowered, taking timid glances every now and then, like some wild thing, from large black lustrous eyes that might have shone befittingly on the face of some proud beauty.

To these, though they now dwelt apart at Mullegama, we must add Kaurala and his family, for he too was of Bingoda, and is maternal uncle of Suthubanda. By his two wives, Balli and Ranni, he has four little sons, Kaira Vanniya, Heratha, Kalua and Sela; and two daughters, Ranni and Dingi.

These details, though perhaps tedious, serve to bring out vividly the intimate inter-relationships of the Veddas, their apparent disregard of appearance or age in their choice of wives, the promiscuity of life in their one-roomed homes—mother, child and father all lying huddled together in a little space. For all that it must not be assumed that Veddas are devoid of a moral code. A man may have more than one wife, it is true; and, if it pleases him, he may cast her aside like a worn garment; but to each man his own woman while she is his; that is the Vedda law which all respect.

5: Spinel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

582 The correct Vedda marriage is that between the children of a brother
835 and sister. A marriage between children of two brothers or of two sisters is regarded as incest. And here their standard is higher than ours.

587 Marriage for the Vedda is a very simple affair. Suthubanda, for instance, espoused a widow in his household. When she was freed by the death of her husband, it was right that he should take her, and he made no demur, though she was old and ugly and he young and robust.
583 Kaurala went to the younger of his two wives with a length of cloth, a bead necklace, a bangle and two hair pins, and brought her away. Gama, whose wife was an orphan of Henebedde, did much the same. But
591 the rule is that a man should cast in his lot with his wife's people. Then, the morning after marriage the pair go into the jungle and bring home, it may be a *kanava* comb, a monitor lizard, or some yams, and thus the common life begins.

585 The waist-string plays as important a part in Vedda matrimony as
291 does the ring in ours. When a woman has tied round the waist of a man a string of her own twisting, he becomes her husband. This string, some
[283 six encircling loops, lasting practically a life-time, is made of *niyande*
284 (bow-string hemp), the long bayonet-shaped leaf of which is shredded to fibre by being drawn repeatedly between the palm of the hand and a bare branch.

586 Divorce is as informal as marriage; the woman being merely returned to her parents or requested to go to whomsoever she chooses. But the Vedda is not, as a rule, unreasonably capricious in the exercise of his power; he has too great a sense of responsibility and of fair-play towards
762 the mother of his children and partner in his toil. A lad I knew blew out his chest with a gun, from remorse at having taken to himself two sisters who continually quarrelled with each other over his affections.

593 A Vedda will not hesitate to chastise his spouse when necessary; but that, after all, is only a mark of affection! We saw one belabour his wife unmercifully because she would not let him accompany us; she took all the beating she got, but had her own way in the end.

551 These people do not address their women-folk by name. Ask a man to
515 name his children, and he will stutter and stumble at the task. A Vedda hails his wife somewhat as follows: "What are you doing there? Come here and break my head." This apparently suicidal request is only his way of requesting her to perform the delightful uxorial duty of cleansing his hair of vermin.

CM The Veddas of Bingoda claim to be of the Morana *waruge*, the best
565 Vedda clan. Those of Danigala, of the Unapane clan, come next. But
515 for the Veddas of Henebedde the Bingoda folk profess disdain, calling them *Uro* (swine) and *Waliyo*, and saying it was their duty in old-time to pour water on the Morana's hands when they had fed. How much water these Moranas themselves use we have yet to learn; for, if the saying be true, that the worse the odour the better the Vedda, then the Veddas of Bingoda are aristocrats. What a thing is human nature after all, when even this wretched little remnant of humanity, without a rag to their bodies claim social precedence over each other?

614 There are nine Vedda clans or *waruges*; and each has its own story:
173 The Morana *waruge* was so called by a Sinhalese king who yearned for the *mora* fruit when it was out of season, and had his want proclaimed.

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920). 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

Lastly, there is the *kangotuwa* (deer-skin receptacle for the honey), or *yakka-katte* (devil's mouth) as it is reverently called out of deference to the tutelary demons of the rock, who might otherwise be angered and send the cutter to his doom.

A pile of firewood is now collected on top of the rock to protect the guardians of the ladder, while another heap is made by those below. All being ready they await the protecting darkness. When this comes the play begins. The great fire at the foot of the rock is lit and fed abundantly with green leaves; large volumes of smoke lick uncannily up the side of the hill towards the hives; now there is a stir among the bees. As the Veddas hear it their merriment waxes great: "*Bambaru, bambaru, bambaru*; *thapita, thapita, thapita. Ho bambaru thuape**;" they cry. "*Giddi, giddi, giddi*; *rung, rung, rung*," they jeer in imitation of the flight.

Meanwhile the fire above has been lighted, and two smoking *hulas* have been lowered towards the hives. The air is heavy with the ominous hum of angry bees.

Now is the time for the descent. The ladder, firmly secured to a tree or stone, and guarded by the brother-in-law of the cutter (the only person ineligible to marry his wife in the event of accident), is let down with a propitiatory incantation† to the demons of the rock and ancestral spirits. This being uttered, the hand grip is said to be strong and the feet to cling like jak milk to the stone.

With smoking *hulas* looped to forearms and *matha* slung on shoulder, and hair dishevelled over his face that the bees may not get at his eyes and nose, the cutter, gripping the cane with a single hand, disappears over the edge of the cliff into the darkness and the smoke. The ladder creaks as he feels his way down, for he sees nothing.

He has reached the level of the hives. At a signal the deer-skin receptacle is lowered to him, and this he secures to the ladder. Thrusting a leg between two rungs so that his foot is on the lower and his bent knee against the upper, and his head between two others so that the back of his neck is braced against a rung, he is free to use his hands. First he smokes the hives with the *hulas* mounted on the *matha* and drives away the lingering bees. Then, slinging the *hulas* on his forearms, he takes up the stake and, with its pointed end, cuts horizontally through the lower part of the comb, separating off the useless *yotha* with its contained grubs which the bees stoutly defend. He next cuts the comb in vertical sections, and, loosening each from its attachment, spits it with the pronged end of the stake, removes it, and shakes it into the receptacle at his knee. Thus he deals with all the hives.

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*"The bees, the bees, the bees; pile the fire, pile the fire, pile the fire. Ho! the bees run."

†*Yothinawa* it is called; and thus it goes:—

Haibos, haibos, haibos.
Ma ninthagang kotuahes maritches,
Ahd upang nacumthangis maihi kelaney,
Maihi wal opukora thonawa kithen,
Hamatheyan tauthesen opuragana karunahagena.
Tho badey yanna, tho badey yanna, tho badey yanna.